THE NATION

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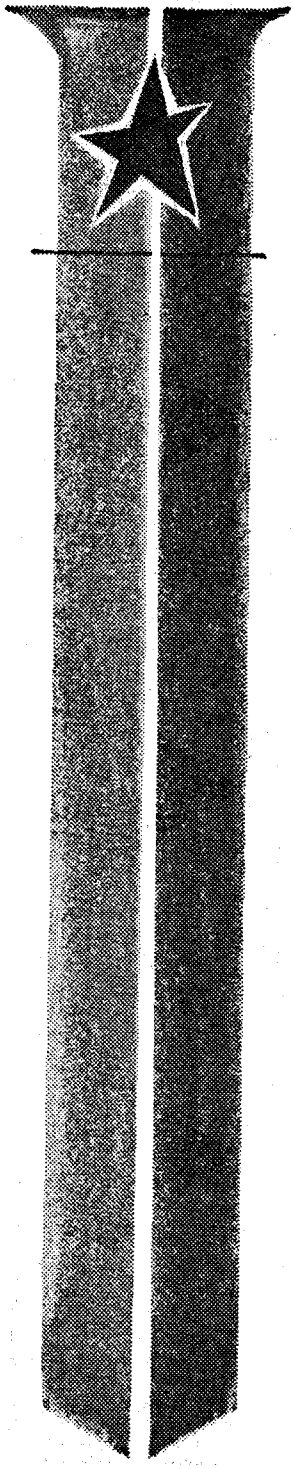

The Cancer Controversy

THE CASE AGAINST THE CIGARETTE

Abraham M. Lilienfeld

Revolt Against Political Mythology

STORM OVER ARGENTINA

Irving L. Horowitz

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LETTERS

3 Shelters per Capita?

Dear Sirs: I must commend you on Roger Hagan's excellent article ["Community Shelters," Feb. 24]. I would like to make one further point, for the situation is even more unpromising than he has indicated. Overlooking the feasibility and reliability of the shelter program, one shelter space will not be enough for one person.... Every locality in an urban area will have to provide enough space for the *maximum* number of persons who can be expected to be there at any given time. Manhattan will need space not only for its own inhabitants, but also for all those working there. Governor Rockefeller's school shelter proposal provides for space for only one-fourth the day; what happens to children during the other eighteen hours? ... Thus, any truly practical program will have to provide at least two, and to be on the good side, three shelter spaces for each person. Add this to the fact that the program, as now conceived, will not even protect people against fallout radiation, much less against blast, shock and heat radiation, and the complete nonsensicality of the whole shebang becomes apparent.

New York City PHILIP SIEKEVITZ

Out or Under?

Dear Sirs: Roger Hagan, in his excellent article, "Community Shelters," mentions that countries with "outmoded" civil-defense plans based on evacuation will be brought up-to-date. *The Christian Science Monitor's* report (Feb. 23) noting the unveiling of a British civil-defense plan "emphasizing evacuation of crowded cities rather than the vast engineering task of building underground shelters for protection against nuclear attack" should, when compared with the official U.S. policy, generate reams of CD doubletalk.

Bakersfield, Calif. LANIER C. GREER

Taxes and Growth

Dear Sirs: Despite many technical criticisms that might be leveled at our tax law, we do have a remarkable tax system — one which demonstrates its vitality, year after year, by raising enormous sums, primarily on a self-assessment basis.

There is widespread hope that President Kennedy's long-range tax reform program will broaden our tax base and, thereby, make it possible to lower our progressive income-tax rates. Whether this would bring net over-all tax reduction is uncertain as of the moment. In the meantime, however, it is heartening to receive Peter L. Bernstein's views ["Paradoxes of Taxation," March 24] that there is little evidence that our present tax structure saps economic incentives or impedes economic growth.

MORTIMER M. CAPLIN
U.S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue
Washington, D. C.

Nonreality

Dear Sirs: President Kennedy says that Americans now serving in Vietnam do not fall under "the description which is generally used in using the phrase 'combat troops.'" I presume that if any of these noncombat troops should be killed in noncombat, they would not fall under the description which is generally used in using the word "dead." There is a wonderful logic here: noncombat troops are engaged in noncombat to defend the regime of Ngo Diem which, we see more and more clearly, does not fall under the description which is generally used in using the phrase "democratic government."

Will someone wake me when reality begins again? ANTHONY KALLET
Chicago, Ill.

Contribution to Knowledge

Dear Sirs: Your excellent editorial in the March 3 issue titled "The Insects Shall Inherit the Earth" is one of the clearest statements concerning the biological effects of nuclear war (and, for that matter, of continuing intense testing) that has come to my attention. I should like to see an organization formed for the purpose of spreading the facts. I know that such projects require funds. For myself, I pledge $100 to any committee that may be formed to effectuate this idea. J.T. GAULT, M.D.
Chicago, Ill.

Where Credit Is Due

Dear Sirs: One paragraph of Lawrence E. Metcalf's otherwise excellent article "Anti-Communism in the Classroom: Education or Propaganda?" (March 10) is inaccurate on three counts. The paragraph, dealing with Fred Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, refers to a Schwarz seminar attended by "an observer from *The Christian Science Monitor*," and quotes a list of individuals, groups and institutions which "Schwarz attacked in a single seminar."

In the first place, the observer in question was not from the *Monitor* but from *The Christian Century*. Second, Mr. Metcalf's quoting of the list is substantially accurate, but for some inexplicable reason he omits the august name of Elmer Davis. Third, the list was compiled not just from the seminar speeches of Schwarz himself, but also from those of E. Merrill Root — though no doubt Root's enemies are Schwarz's, too....

DEAN PEERMAN
Associate Editor
Chicago, Ill. *The Christian Century*

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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Lesson of the *Ultras*

The magnanimous and sensible cease-fire agreement in Algeria is, it has been said, a victory for common sense. But it is not yet a victory. This bloody, tragic, hideous war has been dragging on for seven years and four months. The bitterness it has generated is beyond all calculation. The settlement has been delayed so long that it may rob the potential victory of its meaning, of its promise for freeing France to play a leading role in the economic, political and intellectual affairs of Europe and the world. Certainly the prime requisite of a true settlement, a real peace, is de Gaulle's ability to deliver to the National Liberation Front the major share in Algerian rule which he promised at Evian. If he cannot put down the OAS insurrection, if he cannot convince the Algerian Europeans that the independent Algeria which will follow is the best solution for them as well as for France, the agreement will be no more than an expression of good intentions.

For Americans, indeed for the affluent and relatively well-off all over the world, the history of French colonialism in the past quarter-century contains an invaluable lesson—that the fortunate, if they will not yield any of their fortune, dig their country's grave. Since 1939, France's energies and resources have been tied up in two disastrous and needless wars: Indo-China and Algeria. In both cases there was ample room for compromise. In Indo-China, Ho Chi-minh repeatedly offered the French reasonable terms; the diehards in Paris and on the ground repeatedly refused. The same mentality rejected a settlement in Algeria, when the Moslems would have jumped at any reasonable offer. Men like Mendès-France, who might have made peace to the advantage of both parties, were paralyzed by the *ultras*. The forefathers of the Algerian *ultras* assassinated Jaurès at the beginning of World War I, their fathers imprisoned Dreyfus, and so on back to the first Napoleon. They are the curse of France—men who find in violence the fulfillment of their nature.

And we have them too, though under the American conditions of today, they have less scope than their French brethren. Mississippi is ruled by American *ultras*, who will not yield an inch of their privileges and who must have a subject race to kick around and patronize. The ultra-rightists in the North are essentially the same breed, though their manners may be better. Perhaps they have a biological function as fomenters of revolution. The Algerian War started as a struggle for independence, but in the seven years of combat it turned into a social, economic and political revolution. It is significant that Negro intellectuals in the United States are also turning against what they call "bourgeois" values. They no longer feel that it is enough for Negroes to free themselves from the bonds of segregation; they want to go on from there to a decent society for blacks and whites alike.

Algeria will be watched by progressives (and reactionaries) of every country. If the *ultras* can be defeated there, if a successful multi-racial community can be established, it will be a good augury for men of good will everywhere.

Late Warning

Robert Watson-Watt has been described as "the man who won the Battle of Britain"; insofar as anyone nowadays invents anything, he invented radar. He was knighted for his services in 1942. Sir Robert is a truly great scientist and engineer. But, like Einstein, he is more than a scientist; he is a philosopher and humanitarian, and a conscientious objector to the bloody shambles the politicians, East and West (including those of his country) seem bent on making of the world. He took part in the great anti-war demonstration in London on February 25 and, a few days earlier, was among the distinguished witnesses who were called to testify on behalf of the defendants in the Wethersfield Air Base protestors' case (see James D. Garst: "Conscience on Trial," *The Nation*, March 24). The court refused to hear his testimony or that of Dr. Linus Pauling or Bertrand Russell. Sir Robert had his say, however, in Trafalgar Square, in words that should have resounded around the world, but of which scarcely a whisper reached the United States.

"I address myself to the 'Establishment,'" he began, and quoted Shakespeare for his credentials: "I have done the State some service, and they know it; no more of that." His service was early warning, and now the powers that be could listen to late warning, if they had the good sense. At the end of 1960, the world's stockpile of nuclear weapons stood somewhere around 60,000 megatons—three million Hiroshimas—and was doubling, more or less, every year; "conservatively, a hundred

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million Hiroshimas by 1965—more rather than less"; yet the pillars of the Establishment continue to put their trust in the Great Deterrent, and harass those who militantly object. Looking at these "criminals," Sir Robert commented:

> I envy them their consciences, their devotion, their sacrifice of time, leisure, education, comfort, earning capacity and health. I envy them their singleness of purpose, their dogged determination to submit to savage punishment, to seek punishment as a reward of a high and noble patriotism. I wish that I were made of such fine fibre. I am not, but I can at least do public homage to them. . . .

Watson-Watt lives nowadays in Canada, an hour or two by air from New York. We have our Establishment, too; if anything, it is more unimaginative than that of the British. Whatever contributions Watson-Watt makes in engineering henceforth can add little luster to what he has already done. But if he came down here on occasion and spoke as he did in Trafalgar Square, he would put Americans and all humanity further in his debt.

Lifting the Smoke Curtain

Last year, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, Americans smoked a record of 488 billion cigarettes—more than 200 packs for every person over fourteen years of age. Today the smoking-cancer link, to quote Dr. Michael B. Shimkin, of the National Cancer Institute, "is as clearly demonstrated as any biological association can be" (see article on page 277). Whatever the implications in terms of public-health policy may be, one thing is clear: the facts should be brought to the attention of American parents and their children before these children have become cigarette smokers. The mass media which have profited so long and handsomely from cigarette advertising will want, in sheer self-respect, to bring such documents as the recent Royal College of Physicians report, and similar studies, to the attention of the greatest possible audience. The action of the Independent Television Authority in London, which authorized its own inquiry into the methods employed by cigarette and tobacco advertisers, points the way to similar action here.

Mr. McNamara and 'Juggernaut'

Air Force, the voice of the Air Force Association which, it will be remembered, called for the summary eradication of Soviet communism at its convention last year, now smells a conspiracy against the theory and practice of deterrence. In an article ("Deterrence Under Fire," *Air Force*, March 1962) by Herman S. Wolk, a historian at Hq. SAC, four citations from *The Nation* are presented as part of the evidence that an "anti-deterrent campaign" exists, fomented by "unilateralists," "the devil-believing Left," "pacifists," "nuclear renunciationists" and other anti-American elements. *The Nation*, however, is not the only culprit. In the same gallery are D. F. Fleming, the author of *The Cold War and Its Origins: 1917-1960* (Doubleday, 1961); Harrison Brown and James Real, the authors of *Community of Fear* (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1960); Norman Cousins, for writing "The Fallacy of the Deterrent" in *The Saturday Review*, April 16, 1960; and John Fischer, editor of *Harper's Magazine*, who in the February, 1961, issue accused "the bureaucrats of the Radford-LeMay-Strauss school" of blocking serious negotiations with the Soviet Union and expressed the hope that President Kennedy would overrule them.

The quotations from *The Nation* were all from the October 28, 1961, issue ("Juggernaut," by Fred J. Cook) which had its inception in President Eisenhower's warning against the rise of a "military-industrial complex" capable of determining policy in its own interest. But even as Mr. Wolk was laboring to establish that no such complex existed, that the military and its suppliers were selfless patriots and never gave a thought to such considerations as rank, pay, retirement jobs, the balance sheet, contracts and renegotiation, the fracas over the B-70, redesigned and renamed the RS-70, was coming to a head. Its support, says *The New York Times* (March 18, "Review of the Week") was "influenced in part by pressure from firms and communities that would share in the work on the plane." Three former Secretaries of Defense—Charles E. Wilson, Neil H. McElroy and Thomas S. Gates, Jr. (all under President Eisenhower) had been dubious about the B-70's sterling virtues, and Robert S. McNamara has proved even more skeptical. He is opposed by General Curtis LeMay, chief of staff of the Air Force, who persuaded Rep. Carl Vinson, a third redoubtable figure, to "mandate" the Administration to spend $260 million more on the aircraft than the $223 million already budgeted. So powerful are the forces arrayed against Mr. McNamara that he has taken his case to the people in a 2,500-word statement, the gist of which is that the RS-70 will not do what is claimed for it, either in flying or bombing, that the modifications which differentiate it from the B-70 are untried and for the most part not even on the drawing boards, and that whatever the aircraft is capable of doing will come too late (not until the next decade) to do any deterring or to serve any other useful purpose.

Yet the B-70 will not die. The uproar when it was first cut back (it was called the *Valkyrie* then) rose to such a level that its echoes will still be heard when the last military aircraft is broken up into junk. If there was doubt ever that a military-industrial power grouping exists, the B-70 has dispelled it. And if there was ever a Secretary of Defense who is unimpressed by a pressure group, it is Mr. McNamara. He can't say some of the things *The Nation*, *Saturday Review* and

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Harper's can say, but his actions seem to indicate that on this subject his thoughts run in the same direction.

Maryland's Foreign Policy

Not many states in the union pursue an independent foreign policy; the State of Maryland appears to be an outstanding exception. In the interest of international amity, President Kennedy asked Maryland's Governor Tawes to do what he could to eliminate discrimination along Route 40, along which diplomats—including Africans—shuttle between Washington and the U.N. The Governor, a Democrat, obliged by introducing an Equal Accommodations Bill to the legislature—a bill so mild that it asked equal accommodations only in hotels and restaurants (not bars, not swimming pools, not beaches, etc.), and its effect was deliberately restricted to the eight counties touched by Route 40. The measure was heartily endorsed by religious and civic groups, and also by the Restaurant Owners Association, which opposed voluntary segregation but welcomed coercion. The lawmakers, however, felt differently; to many of them, apparently, as to the owner of the Bonnie Brae diner on Route 40, the Ambassador of Chad "looks like just an ordinary run-of-the mill nigger," and foreign policy or no foreign policy, he'd better look elsewhere for his coffee (see "Life Begins on Route 40," by Leo Hamalian, *The Nation*, Jan. 27, 1962).

So the lawmakers, during the regular session of the Legislature, let the bill die in committee. The Governor called a special session to reconsider—and the bill was defeated by two votes. By this action, the Maryland lawmakers can justly claim not only to have defied the White House and the State Department, but also to have struck a mighty blow against human rights in defense of States' rights.

Setback for Snook

Readers may recall that in the November 11, 1961, issue, we published an editorial deploring the muscular patriotism of John McClure Snook, general manager of his family-owned Gulf Telephone Co. (Foley, Ala.), who had enlisted the twenty-three girls in his employ into a guerrilla unit that trained regularly with automatic weapons. Last week, federal agents seized the arsenal because the weapons were not properly registered and the appropriate taxes had not been paid.

If our publicity led the agents to this lethal stockpile, we are gratified, but the measures taken do not seem entirely adequate. The reports we have seen imply that Mr. Snook's distaff commandos may have their military hardware back when their commander has complied with the regulations. Mr. Snook, who is clearly compensating for something, occupies an office embellished with military impedimenta ranging from pistols and rifles to spears, crossbows and a suit of armor. He drives a white sedan equipped with flashing red lights, two radios and a choice of horns and sirens. Despite this bravura deportment, Mr. Snook has as much right to bear arms as any other citizen not declared legally insane. But the right to bear arms does not imply the right to raise an army—not even an army of Alabama Amazons.

ONWARD CHRISTIAN RIGHTISTS! . . . *by Roscoe Fleming*

A NEW ORGANIZATION seeks to consummate a marriage between religious and political fundamentalism; it protests earnestly that only such a union can save America. Its name is Christian Citizen, Inc., its base is Denver, Colorado, and its avowed purpose is to enlist and train enough volunteer Christians in enough of the nation's 166,000 precincts to assure that Christians will increasingly influence politics and governmental action at all levels. Its only avowed criteria for membership are belief in Christ as one's personal savior, church membership, and a desire to make Christian principles more influential in public administration and political policy. Its field for recruitment comprises the 114 million Americans whom the Census Bureau counts as members of Christian sects.

But scratch a Christian Citizen and you uncover a rightist conservative, with the ancient goal of seeking personal ends by proclaiming that they are God's will. The organization does not aspire to recruit liberals or to advance liberal causes. If it did, its natural home or ally would be the National Council of Churches, of which its organizer's sect is not a member.

The organizer of Christian Citizen is Gerri Von Frellick, forty-six, highly respected in the business world of Denver as a developer of large-scale real-estate projects and as the builder and operator of several Western shopping centers. These include the $12 million Lakeside of Denver and the $15 million Cinderella of that city, which Von Frellick is now planning in partnership with Time, Inc.

A second side of Von Frellick—and perhaps the dominant one, though less well known to the bankers and brokers of Denver—is his zealous membership in the huge Southern Baptist denomination. Von Frellick "accepted Christ" in 1946, is a Sunday-school teacher, a deacon,

ROSCOE FLEMING is a Denver newspaper man and author of The Man Who Reached the Moon and Other Poems.

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and president of the Baptist Foundation of Colorado, which serves 170 growing congregations in five states.

For a decade Von Frellick, the Christian, has pondered what he calls "the declining morals and patriotism of America," and for two years he has worked quietly to establish Christian Citizen, Inc. His expressed hope is that this organization will check what he feels to be the nation's slide toward immorality and personal irresponsibility, and particularly that it will counter the individual's disposition to "abandon all personal responsibility to the federal government."

In fact, though, Christian Citizen seems a fine example of what the Reverend Kenneth Underwood, in *Christianity and Crisis*, defines as the newer social ethic among businessmen: that "the trustees of an institution are called to obedience to God, not to a particular norm such as freedom from government." It happens, however, that their God invariably favors "freedom from government."

VON FRELLICK'S version of the creed runs as follows:

> The doctrine of personal freedom under God resulted in the free enterprise system, the only possible explanation of why Americans with 7 per cent of the world's population enjoy 50 per cent of the world's goods, while other peoples work much harder, but yet have less.
>
> So we are convinced that this present ideological struggle is a conflict of faith, between those who believe in a moral God ruling in a moral universe; and those who reject the existence of God and therefore have no one to whom to be accountable, and no sense of right and wrong.
>
> Since only people who accept Jesus Christ have faith in God, it is to these people we must look for the defense of our heritage of freedom, the preservation of our individual rights and that of the free enterprise system. . . . Socialism is a form of slavery, because he who controls your subsistence, controls you. . . .

Von Frellick specifically denies that his movement seeks control as such of American affairs: "It would be just as bad to have Christians in complete control, as agnostics or Communists. The whole concept of democracy is that of checks and balances that have made it unique and successful. But Christians, though a majority in this country, have absolutely no influence in politics, and as a result the immoral, agnostic and atheistic have had too much. . . ."

(Earl Dodge, Christian Citizen's young executive secretary, supplements this picture of impotence by citing a poll in Chicago which disclosed that, whereas 99 per cent of the saloon-keepers and 98 per cent of the gamblers voted in that city, only 29 per cent of the Protestant church members did so, and only 19 per cent of the Protestant pastors.

However, figures produced by the Southern Baptist Convention show that of the 537 members of the 86th Congress, only 79 failed to mention a religious affiliation in their official biographies. Save for a handful of Jews and one Hindu, all of these were members of Christian sects: 90 Methodists, 79 Roman Catholics, 62 Baptists, 56 Presbyterians, 51 Episcopalians, etc.)

Von Frellick continues:

"What we can do is to overcome the individual Christian's feeling that there's nothing he can do, that one party is as bad as another, that he won't support anyone, that good people who get into politics are only smeared and made to look ridiculous."

BUT, HE ADDS, Christian Citizen has no intention of entering partisan politics as an organization, or of seeking directly to name or to endorse candidates or to intervene in party or public affairs.

Instead, its hopeful plan is to find a volunteer Christian leader in as many of the nation's 166,000 precincts as possible. This local man would organize a dozen or more of his Christian neighbors into a study group, to meet of evenings with texts and materials which Christian Citizen is preparing. The initiation fee will be $10 and dues $2 a month—all to be used as seed money for further recruitment.

The study course covers three general topics: America's Christian heritage, its political structure and "how to become effective in politics." Text for the first will be Verna Hall's *Christian History of the American Constitution.*

Graduates of these classes will, it is hoped, enter and stay in practical politics at any level, from party precinct worker to party leader to candidate for office. Christian Citizen already numbers one Congressman as a member of its board, Henry C. Schadeberg (R., Wis.). He devoted several Lincoln's Birthday speeches to attacking the Kennedy Administration as "socialism on the dead run." Mr. Schadeberg is an evangelistic clergyman by profession.

Von Frellick says he thinks the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade of Dr. Fred Schwarz is accomplishing good, but is dubious about more extreme movements, among them the Reverend Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade and the John Birch Society. Such movements, he says, tend to exaggerate the strength and success of communism, to an extent which Von Frellick believes "tends to destroy the confidence of the citizen not only in the political leaders of America but in the political system itself, and our confidence in the ability of the Constitutional form of government to survive. This actually contributes toward the Communist objective of destroying our confidence. . . ."

IN HIS opinion such movements fail to make positive plans to help individual Christians take individual responsibility for leadership. "Obviously, Christians must have been doing things wrong, and we want to help them to do what is right. We do not want to enlist members; we want the grass-roots people to enlist themselves, to show them how simple and easy it is to start. Local people must always take the initiative."

The Congressional district, he foresees, will be the natural unit. When as many as a dozen study groups have been organized in individual precincts within a district, the district will be recognized as an autonomous unit. The people may organize formally if they wish, hire persons to carry on the work, etc., but only if they wish. "Local people must always take the initiative, and direction is up to them."

After several regional press conferences to initiate wide publicity,

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Christian Citizen began a series of "prayer dinners." These are to continue until all major population centers have been covered.

Christian Citizen may be spreading its arms to embrace all professing Christians, but thus far those who have entered are predominantly of the evangelical sects, and particularly of Von Frellick's own Baptist persuasion. Its board includes Gene Edwards, young Texas evangelist who heads its Southwestern district office; the Reverend Dr. R. L. Decker, pastor of Kansas City's Temple Baptist Church, who heads the regional office there; Dr. Melvin Forney of Philadelphia, head of the Lord's Day Alliance; Dr. William R. Bright of Mound, Minnesota, leader of "Campus Crusade"; J. T. Adams of Sulphur Springs, Texas, organizer of the "Men of Texas" men's choir; Mrs. Julia B. Kohler, president of the Massachusetts W.C.T.U.; the Reverend Dave Breese of Wheaton, Illinois and others.

Von Frellick was born, picturesquely enough, on a log-cabin farm near Miami, Oklahoma, in 1916, the son of German-American parents. His family later moved to Kansas City, and he graduated in 1940 from Oklahoma State University as an architectural engineer. He went at once into independent contracting, but in 1942 enlisted in the Navy, and spent three years as an officer in the Seabees.

After his discharge he entered real estate, sand and gravel supply and road contracting simultaneously, and went broke. He paid off all debts, "though in no way personally responsible," says his official biography. Down to his last $2 bill, which he still displays under the glass cover of his office desk, he landed in Denver in 1953, and after working for others for a short time, relaunched his independent career. Now he controls and operates modern shopping centers at Denver, Amarillo and San Antonio, and is building another at Boulder, Colorado, as well as the $15 million Cinderella at Denver. Von Frellick is obviously a man of drive and organizing skill, and it is likely that his Christian Citizen will raise enough money in $10 initiations and $2 dues to add appreciably to the clamor on the Right for a return to God, States' rights and laissez faire.

The Case Against the Cigarette . . *by Abraham M. Lilienfeld*

Nation readers were alerted early to the controversial question of the relationship between smoking and lung cancer ("Smoking and Lung Cancer," by Dr. Alton Ochsner, May 23, 1953; and, subsequently, an editorial, "Change of Style," April 6, 1957, and "Cigarettes, Cancer and the Campus," by David Cort, August 15, 1959). The following, an authoritative survey of the evidence to date, was written by a former member of a U.S. Study Group on Smoking and Health who is now Chairman of the Department of Chronic Diseases at The Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health.—ED.

EARLIER this month, a committee of the Royal College of Physicians of England, headed by Sir Robert Platt, the college's distinguished President, reported that "It's the cigarette smokers who get cancer of the lung. Indeed, those who smoke 25 or 30 cigarettes a day have about 30 times the chance of dying of it that a nonsmoker has" (AP dispatch, March 7). The return of this issue to public prominence might make it profitable to review the scientific evidence on the relationship of cigarette smoking to lung cancer and the interpretation of this relationship.

Probably one of the most striking disease phenomena in the past twenty years has been the marked increase in mortality from lung cancer in the United States and elsewhere. In 1930, the age-adjusted death rate from lung cancer in this country was 3.8 per 100,000; in 1956, the rate was 31.0 and more than 29,000 Americans died of lung cancer in that year. The gravity of the situation is enhanced by the fact that the totality of available diagnostic and therapeutic methods are not very effective: only 5 to 10 per cent of people with lung cancer survive five years after diagnosis.

So marked an increase within so short a period is most probably a result of the introduction of one or more etiological agents into man's environment. In attempting to uncover possible agents, it seemed natural to study inhalants such as tobacco smoke. In 1939, the results of the first of a series of retrospective studies were reported by Muller. In this study, the smoking habits of patients with lung cancer were compared with those of individuals without lung cancer who were selected as controls. It was found that a larger proportion of lung-cancer patients smoked cigarettes than did the controls. Since then, about thirty similar studies have been reported with essentially similar results. One recent study showed that 92 per cent of lung-cancer patients were cigarette smokers as compared to 73 per cent of controls; 53 per cent were *heavy* smokers as compared to 23 per cent of controls. Several of these studies were carried out on female patients with results similar to those found among men.

The association of lung cancer with smoking was further investigated here and in Great Britain by three independent research units who questioned population groups on smoking habits and then followed the groups for several years to determine mortality rates and causes of death. In one such study, conducted by the American Cancer Society, 187,783 white men aged fifty to sixty-nine were followed for forty-four months. Those who never smoked cigarettes had a death rate from lung cancer of 12.8 per 100,000 man-years as compared to a rate of 127.2 for those who had a history of having smoked cigarettes. Also, the death rate increased with the increasing number of cigarettes smoked, while ex-smokers had a lower death rate. On the whole,

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these studies have been consistent in indicating that cigarette smokers had about ten times the number of deaths from lung cancer as did nonsmokers. Pipe and cigar smokers had death rates that were only slightly higher than nonsmokers. It is fair to say that there is no disagreement over the fact that a statistical association exists between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Differences have developed over the interpretation of this association.

THE TWO MAJOR explanations that must be considered are: (1) cigarette smoking *causes* lung cancer (the term "cause" is here used in a pragmatic sense; i.e., we would say that a "cause" is some factor that, if removed from the environment, would result in a decreasing frequency of a particular disease); (2) the association is an *indirect* one, resulting from the existence of a common unknown factor that causes people both to smoke and to develop lung cancer. This explanation is sometimes referred to as the "self-selection" or the "constitutional" hypothesis. Clearly, if this situation exists, lung cancer and cigarette smoking are statistically related *not* on a causal basis, but through the common factor. R. A. Fisher, the noted British statistician, agrees with this hypothesis and argues that the common factor is a genetic one.

The debate over the relationship of cigarette smoking to lung cancer consists essentially of attempts to discriminate between these two hypotheses. What are the available data in support of each?

The first approach to the problem — and the ideal one in that the results would be definitive — would be to carry out experiments in population groups. Theoretically, this could be done in two ways:

¶Establish an experimental group that would smoke and a control group that would not smoke, participants being allocated at random to each group. Such an experiment would have to be launched with preteen-age groups and the groups followed for a number of years to determine their mortality from lung cancer. Needless to say, a test of this kind is quite impractical, although it is the only kind that would convince some investigators of a causal interpretation.

¶One might set up a well-controlled experiment to determine whether cessation of cigarette smoking results in a decrease in the death rate from lung cancer. In this instance, one would start with a group of cigarette smokers, allocating them at random to an experimental group that would stop smoking and to a control group that would continue to smoke. Both groups would then be followed for a number of years to determine their death rates. Again, the possibility of successfully conducting such an experiment is small. I feel, however, that some attempt should be made to determine its feasibility, at least.

THE second general approach is to try to produce lung cancer in animals with cigarette smoke and to determine the biochemical or biophysical mechanisms by means of which cigarette smoking produces lung cancer. To date, attempts to produce lung cancer in animals with cigarette smoke have been unsuccessful. However, it has been possible to produce lung cancer in a dog by the local application of tobacco tar to the mucous membrane lining of the bronchus. Also, several investigators have produced skin cancer in mice, following repeated long-term applications of tobacco tar. While one might question the validity of generalizing from results achieved on mouse skin, which is quite different from the human lung, the results are significant in that they do indicate the presence of a carcinogenic agent in tobacco tar. Several such chemical agents actually have been isolated. Also, experiments of this type could elucidate the mechanisms by which these agents produce cancer and perhaps determine if similar mechanisms are present in humans. Several investigators are now conducting research along these lines.

Related to this experimental approach are histopathological studies which have shown that there is a notably increased frequency of cellular changes, of a kind generally considered to mark early stages in the development of cancer, in the tracheo-bronchial tree of cigarette smokers as compared to nonsmokers. Clearly, the results of these studies are consistent with and strengthen the causal hypothesis.

THE THIRD approach to the problem is epidemiological. Certain types of epidemiological studies can be carried out that would provide data relevant to the two hypotheses under discussion. We can consider three types of such studies.

1. The first type is one in which the distribution of lung cancer among the population, according to such characteristics as age, sex and race, is first determined. Then the distribution of frequency of cigarette smoking, using the same population characteristics, is determined. Finally, the two distributions are compared to discover how far they are consistent with each other. Essentially, this approach attempts to determine whether variations in the distribution of lung cancer in the population can be explained on the basis of variations in the distribution of smoking habits. Here is an aspect that has not been sufficiently studied, but whatever studies have been done along this line indicate that many of the variations in frequency of lung cancer among different population groups are explainable by differences in cigarette-smoking habits. In fact, it is of more than passing interest that a good part of the excess lung-cancer mortality among urban residents is explained by the fact that more urbanites are cigarette smokers than rural residents. But all of the excess cannot be so explained, and therefore air pollution, exposure to certain occupations, or other as yet unknown factors associated with urban living may be of etiological importance.

2. A second type of epidemiological study that could be done is to compare smokers and nonsmokers with respect to as many sociological, biological, etc. characteristics as possible. Essentially, this approach attempts to determine the existence of the possible common factor, since if the smoking-lung cancer association is an *indirect* one, cigarette smokers should differ from nonsmokers with respect to this factor. In such studies, it should be kept in mind that any differences found

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between cigarette smokers and nonsmokers must be at least as great as the degree of association of cigarette smoking with lung cancer. Otherwise, these differences cannot be shown to be of importance in the etiology of lung cancer. Also, it then becomes necessary to determine whether the characteristics which differentiate cigarette smokers from nonsmokers are independently related to lung cancer before they can be assumed to be the common factor. (Of course, in reasoning in this manner, we run the risk of overlooking the pertinent common factor simply because we just do not know what to look for. But this is a risk common to most scientific research.)

On the other hand, in such studies, the more nearly similar cigarette smokers and nonsmokers are shown to be, the less likely is it that the association is merely indirect.

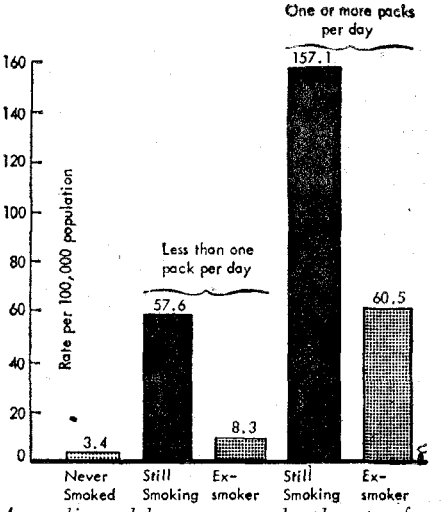
SEVERAL studies have indicated differences between cigarette smokers and nonsmokers. Cigarette smokers consume more alcohol, more black coffee, change jobs more often, engage in more athletics and respond differently on an emotional questionnaire. They are more likely to have had at least one parent with hypertension or coronary disease, and to have more native-born parents. However, in none of these relationships is the degree of difference between cigarette smokers and nonsmokers sufficiently great (although statistically significant) to account reasonably for the degree of association of cigarette smoking and lung cancer. To date, the results of these studies *decrease* the plausibility of the indirect-association theory.

3. A third type of epidemiological approach consists of attempting to discover other etiological agents. Even if the causal association is accepted, it does not mean that cigarette smoking is the *only* causal agent; nonsmokers, too, develop lung cancer. By means of epidemiological studies and the determination of the nature of other etiological factors, it may be possible to develop reasonable explanations for *all* cases of lung cancer. At present, there are leads upon which further inquiries can be based. Some studies definitely incriminate certain types of occupational exposures, such as in the chromate industry. There is an increasing incidence of lung cancer with decreasing socio-economic status (which may or may not be related to occupation). Several studies have indicated an increased risk of lung cancer among the foreign born. There exists a real need for further epidemiological studies in lung cancer.

The results of such studies to date tend, in general, to make the *causal* interpretation more likely and the *indirect* association less likely. Putting all the evidence together, it seems that the causal hypothesis has a high probability of truth. Despite the evidence, however, objections have been raised with respect to certain aspects of the problem.

IF CIGARETTE smoking causes lung cancer as a result of a carcinogenic substance in tobacco, one would expect that the risk of developing lung cancer should be higher among inhalers than among noninhalers. In the retrospective study by Doll and Hill, no differences between inhalers and noninhalers were observed—a major point made by R. A. Fisher. However, three more recent studies have reported an excess risk for lung cancer for cigarette-smoke inhalers. It isn't clear as to why the results of Doll and Hill differ from the others, but the weight of present evidence would seem to be a suitable answer to Fisher's strictures.

Another objection raised against the causal hypothesis is that not all cigarette smokers develop lung cancer. Actually, the lifetime risk of dying from lung cancer is about one in ten for heavy cigarette smokers. The lack of a complete correspondence between an etiological agent and a disease is not uncommon in human illnesses. Not all those who ingest contaminated food or water develop illnesses caused by the contaminants. In industries where there is exposure to various toxic agents, not all those exposed develop diseases caused by these agents. There exist factors that influence the susceptibility of an individual to such exogenous agents. In only a few diseases do we have sufficient information to define, measure or detect the state of susceptibility. More research in this area would be welcome, but



Age-adjusted lung-cancer death rates for smokers, ex-smokers (persons who have given up smoking for at least ten years) and nonsmokers.

—American Cancer Society Study

it must be noted that the control of a disease does not need to wait for determinations of this kind.

Of possible importance to the question of susceptibility are the sex differences in mortality from lung cancer: men have a much higher risk than women. Opinions vary as to whether the difference is explainable by variations in cigarette-smoking habits — including inhalation — or whether there are constitutional characteristics of women which decrease their susceptibility to environmental causative agents. Further research is needed.

One of the most frequent objections to the causal hypothesis is that the statistical relationship between cigarette smoking and lung cancer is non-specific. This is based on the observations, in the prospective studies, that cigarette smoking is related not only to lung cancer, but also to chronic bronchitis, cancer of the esophagus, peptic ulcer and coronary heart disease. However, the relationship between cigarette smoking and lung cancer is outstanding; in these studies, cigarette smokers had a tenfold excess risk of dying from lung cancer, as compared to nonsmokers, in contradistinction to a 3.3-fold risk for chronic bronchitis, a 2.8-fold risk for peptic ulcer and a 1.6-fold risk for chronic heart disease. It would seem reasonable to take the degree of relationship into account in evaluating specificity. Also, we must consider that tobacco,

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a complex substance, may well contain agents that may be of etiological importance in many diseases. And there is no biological necessity for one agent to cause only one disease. Excessive exposure to ionizing radiation may result in gastro-intestinal disturbances, cancers of a variety of organs (thyroid, ovary, bone and others), nephrosclerosis and other diseases. Yet, this fact has not been a deterrent to inferring a causal relationship.

There are some who feel that a causative explanation is not acceptable because, at the moment, we do not know the "cause" of cancer. It appears that by "cause" is meant that all of the detailed mechanisms, in terms of cellular biochemistry or biophysics, have not been worked out so that we understand completely how a normal cell becomes a cancer cell. However, such criteria would make invalid generally accepted causative interpretations of various types of cancer resulting from exposures to toxic agents in industry. No one doubts that exposure to various aniline dyes is a cause of bladder cancer and that chromate workers have a higher risk of developing lung cancer. Absence of data on cellular mechanisms has not deferred the application of preventive measures to decrease the risk of cancer from these exposures. In fact, it is well to point out that the evidence upon which causal relationships in industry have been determined is of the same kind and even less extensive than is already available with respect to cigarette smoking and lung cancer!

THE DECISION as to the amount and type of evidence necessary to prove a causal interpretation is dependent on the psychological outlook of the person making the decision. A laboratory scientist without direct responsibility for the health of the public may well desire so much evidence that he can say that his causal interpretation is 99 per cent correct; he wants to be absolutely certain. On the other hand, a public health official may feel that he does not require absolute proof before preventive action is indicated. In his case, a 55 per cent chance of being right may provide a sufficient basis for preventive action. This viewpoint has been expressed best by the noted biostatistician, Edwin B. Wilson, who stated:

> One of the difficulties of following the mathematical fraternity is that one may adopt some of their conventions too literally . . . and they have a way of using P = .05 as a standard significant level, which is all right if understood, but the business man, the investor, the weather forecaster, the executive or the card player who waited for that degree of significance would be so out of the game as to be without a livelihood. Theodore Roosevelt is said to have remarked that an executive who made four right decisions out of seven was good — a "confidence" of .556 instead of .95. For practical purposes we have to take chances with our inferences, and actually no matter how meticulous our probability calculations, we have to take chances on those probabilities.

THOSE WITH responsibilities for the public health have reviewed the evidence and believe that it is most reasonably interpreted as indicating that cigarette smoking is a major causative factor in the increasing incidence of lung carcinoma. In addition to the Royal College of Physicians mentioned earlier, the Public Health Cancer Association (U.S.A.), the Ministry of Health of England and Wales, the Medical Research Council of Great Britain, the Netherlands Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health, the State Medical Research Council of Sweden, the American Public Health Association and the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service have concurred in this decision. A study group convened by the World Health Organization to make recommendations on desirable avenues of research in lung-cancer epidemiology made a series of recommendations on types of studies needed to fill in existing gaps in knowledge. However, the group was careful "to call attention to the fact that existing knowledge of the etiology of lung cancer is already sufficiently well established to justify prophylactic action aimed at reducing exposure to known etiological factors."

The kinds of preventive action called for have never been systematically developed by any group or agency. There is a general feeling that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to motivate adult smokers to stop smoking. The Royal College of Physicians recommended that (1) special clinics be established to help those who find it hard to give up the habit and (2) the price of cigarettes be increased to encourage people either to give them up or to turn to less harmful pipe or cigar smoking.

That smoking habits can change is indicated by the results of a survey of Massachusetts physicians in 1954 and 1957 by Snegireff and Lombard: in 1954, about 52 per cent of the physicians smoked cigarettes compared with 39 per cent in 1959; in 1954, 34 per cent were nonsmokers as compared to 45 per cent in 1959. Perhaps large-scale publicity campaigns might have an effect, but they would have to counteract the approximately $146 million spent annually in advertising by the six major tobacco companies. Would it be easier, perhaps, to influence the future habits of teen-agers than the fixed habits of adults? Here again, one is up against what Dr. Shimkin of the National Cancer Institute calls the "shameful appeals from tobacco advertising such as those which equate smoking with bravery, sexual virility and social status" (*Advertising Age,* Jan. 29, 1962). It is astonishing to find that one major cigarette company actually has 165 undergraduate representatives serving on college campuses throughout the country (*New York Times,* Oct. 20, 1960). Doesn't the government and the tobacco industry have some obligation to eliminate or curtail this amount and type of advertising?

The best means of control is probably dependent on the results of further research in which the harmful components of tobacco would be isolated, removed or counteracted. Another approach that has not received much consideration relates to the problem of susceptibility. If we could learn to identify individuals who are particularly susceptible to lung cancer when exposed to environmental agents, it might be possible to convince them, at least, that they ought to quit smoking cigarettes.

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STORM OVER ARGENTINA . . *by Irving L. Horowitz*

SUMMER has come to an end in Argentina and the season for political turmoil has returned with a vengeance. To the many "trouble spots" preying on the American conscience must now be added, once again, that far-off part of the political forest nominally guided by President Arturo Frondizi. No sooner had the name Frondizi become fixed in Latin American politics, than the bad memory of Peron and the nationalist movement he led returned to haunt the course of Empire-building.

The first fact to be noted in the extraordinarily crushing defeat sustained by Frondizi at the hands of the Peronists in this month's Congressional elections is its inevitability in the light of social and economic developments in Argentina since the end of direct military rule in 1958. To these objective factors must be added Frondizi's own lack of *charisma* — his seeming incapacity to generate any but the most passive sort of personal allegiance. From the outset, the Argentine President was presented, and also presented himself, as the *only* figure who could offer his country civil rule. Thus, questions of better or worse never really entered the calculations of the ordinary citizens—they never were allowed to.

But if the citizenry was prohibited from looking ahead, no such prohibition could be made on looking backward—to Peron. The Argentine has more than his share of nostalgic yearning for "the good old days" (before the Americans came). And if he could still idolize a singer (Carlos Gardel) dead for over a quarter-century, then he certainly could remember the days of Peron and his "of the people" wife, Evita. Politics was at least personal before 1953. Each person did indeed count as one —and persons who were authentic workers a trifle more than one. Those were also the days when *"industria Argentina"* meant at least that the tobacco you smoked (however inferior in quality) was nationally grown, not Virginian. They were also the days when the dream of a little Latin Empire, with headquarters in Buenos Aires, could be entertained openly.

IT WOULD be a dire mistake to assume that nostalgia alone, or even primarily, turned the tide against Frondizi and his Radical Intransigent Party. Frondizi was always precariously perched on the weakest branch of Argentine polity—constitutionalism. At present, and for the past two years, the military has made its actual control of the direction of government so plain that even the blind news vendors on Calle Florida could see that Argentine constitutionalism had become a palpable fraud. Frondizi's power had increasingly come to rest on the upper layers of industry, the bureaucracy and the military—those very elements which supported Balbin in the national elections of 1958, to whose curbing Frondizi gave promises to all who might listen and support him: Peronists, Communists, Socialists, Catholics, etc. Frondizi's love of Presidential power overcame his pre-electoral pledges. And the four years since his inauguration have witnessed the sorry spectacle of the Casa Rosada (Frondizi's political residence) bowing on every major test of strength with the military forces entrenched at Campo de Mayo.

In short, "crisis" is built into the very myth of republicanism which Frondizi constructed and by which he still continues to justify his actions. Three immediate questions arise for the concerned observer: What accounted for the defeat of Frondizi's party in the recent elections? What is the future of democracy in Argentina? What meaning do the election results have for United States foreign policy? But before attempting to answer these questions, it is necessary to make clearer the nature of the New Peronism.

PERONISM the movement is quite distinct from Peron the man. A man like Andres Framini, who was elected Governor of Buenos Aires Province in the election, is a tough and seasoned labor leader who represents the large urban working class living in the Capital district. There is not even a hint of affection for the kind of "Bonapartist democracy" which was the leitmotif of Juan Peron's "Justicialism." Even the much recited hue and cry for Peron to return from exile is devoid of political content. As Amado Olmos, another unionist and leader of the New Peronism, cogently put the matter: "We want him back from exile, but as a sort of party hero, not as President. Peron is not a revolutionary." In that last phrase is the crux that symbolizes the difference between man and movement. It is precisely Peronism as a revolutionary force of workers that Frondizi has failed to respond to. And it is precisely this failure of nerve that has placed him in the compromising position of being captive to his own self-image of Presidential authority, while at the same time being continually manipulated by the leading anti-democratic force in the nation—the military.

It should not be thought that Frondizi holds a monopoly on deceit. The New Peronists are not so taken with nostalgia as to have forgotten Peron's decision to turn to the dollar market to stave off fundamental reform policies at home. Contracts for an automobile monopoly under the aegis of the Kaiser Aluminum Company were signed when Peron was in power. And it was in the last stages of Peron's rule that the national oil monopoly, Y.P.F., was being considered a perfect sacrificial lamb to his hopelessly unreal-

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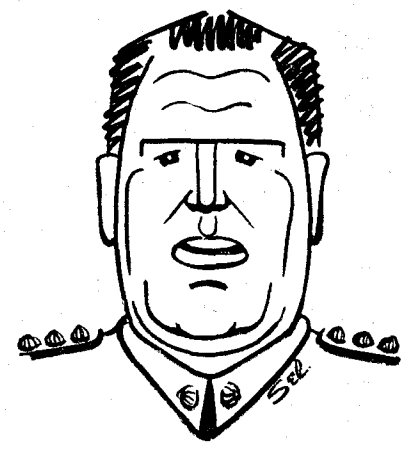
istic economic policies. Indeed, Frondizi's nationalistic tract of 1954, *Petroleum and Politics*, was written precisely to counter Peron's capitulation to "Yanqui imperialism." Thus Frondizi's use of military intervention to block the Peronists from assuming control of the Congressional and gubernatorial seats they won in a free, secretly held and democratic election, in the name of preventing demonstrations for Peron's return from exile, is a prima-facie fraud. The specter haunting Frondizi and his military colleagues is not Peron, but Peronism; not a defrocked military leader, but a spontaneous movement of *obreros* from the cities of Buenos Aires, Cordoba and Mendoza, and *campesinos* from as far north as Tucuman to Santiago del Estero at the foot of the Andes. Any other reading of the electoral results would be both dangerous and sentimental—and bound to lead to even greater miscalculations.

LET US now turn to the first of our three main questions, the electoral defeat of Frondizi. In the first place, it should be noted that the defeat Frondizi's party and policies sustained is much greater than the victory gained by Peronism. While this is the first election in which the Peronists have been permitted a place on the ballot, their electoral strength had remained fairly steady at between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of the popular vote, as determined in previous elections by the number of "blank votes" cast at the polls.

But this very fact is indicative of the failure of Frondizi to budge the sentiments of the lower classes. And positively, it establishes beyond a shadow of a doubt that the fundamental organizational form for expressing working-class discontent is Peronism. That the Argentine Communist Party, small, torn by internal dissension and ideologically fragmented, has recognized this, and lent its support to the Peronists, only serves to underscore the fact. It does not make Peronism any more or less diabolical because of such support.

The elections signify the final demise of former economic czar Alsogaray's "austerity program"—a program which from the outset was doomed to fail because of its disproportionate burden on the poorest sectors of the economy. Economic "stabilization" affected only wages and the wage earners. Prices of commodities continued in an upward spiral, business profits similarly showed an upward turn, and the net result of "austerity" was less heat and less meat for the poor, and a literal bacchanal of consumer-spending on the part of the middle and upper sectors of the economy. French and German automobiles, American television sets, Dutch stereo equipment, English and Danish house furnishings—all continued to drain the Argentine national economy and intensified the division between conspicuous consumption and conspicuous poverty. That the New Peronism, with its super-nationalist slogans,



Peron

had a high appeal in such a situation is hardly surprising. What is surprising is the ability of the "officialist" parties to maintain even the semblance of popular appeal.

From a strictly electoral point of view, one basic reason for the success of Peronist candidates was the surprisingly strong showing made by the Popular Radicals—who share with Frondizi's Intransigent Radicals a strong animus for Peronism, but who distinguish themselves by a desire for stability and economic reform without the willingness to "play the game" with either the United States or the Soviet Union. The basic trading impulse of the Popular Radicals is based on the favorable trade balance of Argentine beef products for European goods. The fact that such an approach guarantees a relatively slow rate of internal economic development does not bother either the party or its followers. There is a "third force" flavor to its thinking. The party holds out for the Argentine a prewar world in which meat and wine were plentiful and national sovereignty was relatively intact. The air of unreality of these policies becomes manifest, however, when it is realized that Argentine beef no longer has a commanding place on the European market, and further, that Argentina itself has undergone a social revolution of vast proportions, in which the economic physiognomy has shifted from farm to factory, and in which the sociological facts of urbanization, mobility and status differentiation have taken firm roots. Thus, if the New Peronism represents a nostalgic yearning for a *Pax Argentina*, the old Popular Radicals represent a still more antiquated desire for an *Agraria Argentina*.

The importance of the vote of this non-Frondizi *and* anti-Peron faction is to bring attention to the fact that the struggle for power is much more complicated, politically, than a simple victory for one implying defeat for the other. Argentina has a multiparty system which is operative. It expresses the fact that the voters are split evenly in three directions and not two: expressed ideologically, we might say that the Intransigent Radicals represent the policy of inviting foreign investments from abroad for the eventual purpose of bringing Argentina into the community of highly industrialized nations; the Popular Radicals offer the hopes of sound fiscal policy and continued good living for the Argentine through the further exploitation of natural resources and agricultural produce in exchange for money and goods; the Peronists want a high rate of industrialization without foreign capital investments, and feel that such an advantageous position is possible at the expense of the middle- and upper-class "trickle down" principles.

AN ANSWER to what lies ahead for democracy in Argentina entails short-run as well as long-run factors. In the immediate future, any effort to repulse the New Peronism must involve either a settlement of the

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political differences between the Intransigent Radicals, Popular Radicals and independent Socialists, or the risk of a return to open military intervention. The profound tragedy is that the likely option seems to be the one which Frondizi is now exercizing.

It would be very unwise, however, to rule out the possibility that Frondizi will, in the months to come, increasingly come to estimate his chances through an "opening to the Left." (The situation which presents itself in Italy has more than a few common points with the Argentine complex. And the thinking of Frondizi is more like that of Gronchi than of any other political figure in the Western world.) The desperate urgings of the military for Frondizi not only to employ "military intervention to preserve democracy," but to go further along the path of this strange new "democracy" and nullify the results of the elections outright, will provide a clear test of Frondizi's actual strength (and no less, of the pulling power of the U.S. State Department, which up to now has refused to accept any other figure as President). He now has the basis for a move towards reconciliation with the Peronists—as part of this opening to the Left. That this will leave him in splendid isolation as regards any further support from the military chieftains of Argentina, or the political savants of Washington, entails a calculated risk. He may indeed not be able to survive in such a situation. But the alternative—continued knuckling under to foreign and military pressures—will only guarantee his demise and disgrace.

FROM a long-range viewpoint — if there is to be a long range at all—the Frondizi government must immediately re-structure its austerity program so that corporate profits find their way, through taxation, to increased spending for working-class housing developments (*monobloques*), technical educational facilities and higher wage scales. In addition, the size of the bureaucracy must be cut in half, while the size of the military caste must likewise be considerably reduced. There must also take place a restoration of heavier machine imports at the expense of secondary consumer imports. The working classes have managed to live without stereophonic sound up to now; the question is, will the middle classes be able to do likewise? The answers thus far offer little ground for optimism, although it must also be said that Frondizi has shown a sensitivity on this point quite rare for an Argentine politician.

What is taking place in Argentina, as in other areas of Latin America, constitutes nothing short of a social revolution — which unfortunately neither the temperament nor absolutist "man on horseback" tradition of twentieth-century Argentine politics has been able to cope with. The handwriting is on the wall, and if the politicians do not wish to be placed against that wall, they will heed the message: revolutionary change now. The only question, and the big question, is who will emerge victorious in this revolution, the Falangists, Communists and the other scattered segments of the "radical Right and Left," or the New Peronists, Socialists and Liberals, who fall on a spectrum somewhere between this politics *in extremis*.

AS TO our third large-scale question, the meaning of the electoral victory of the Peronists for the United States, there are already indications that press releases are pursuing a stereotyped line. Such comments as "a defeat for the United States," "a slap at the Alliance for Progress" and "a dashing of the hopes for democracy in Argentina" have been presented as the last despairing word. Such comments are both nonsensical and dangerous. They stem from the notion that any event which occurs in any part of the world which is not under the aegis of our State Department is *eo ipso* anti-United States. Furthermore, to expect "political benefits" from a Washington announcement a month ago of $150 million in loans to the Frondizi government for unspecified projects is to confess that the Alliance for Progress is geared not so much to the needs of a highly mobile and highly cultivated people, but rather to the more pedestrian needs of an insecure foreign policy based on keeping the Russian bear from chewing up the Argentine cow. Such an approach is disastrous, and what is worse, a disaster which has nothing to do with "historical necessities."

If the preceding observations have any merit, it is because they draw attention to the fact that Peronism is a viable political force, much like the other two major Argentine parties; and that its strength derives from the genuine impulse of the voting public for immediate and wide-scale reforms — reforms which are needed whether Peron returns from his European hide-away or not. The electoral results represent, as *The New York Times* in its editorial of March 20 perceived, ". . . the desire to protest and the demand for social and economic change." Therefore, the Peronist successes should provide a test of how sincerely we take our own policy statements: (a) not to intervene in the internal affairs of another sovereign state, (b) to use the funds of the Alliance for Progress to foster the welfare of the people who need it most, and (c) to insist that the only "string" to funds be that each recipient nation abide by the will of its people as expressed in a democratic election, such as that held in Argentina.

WE ARE not inclined to greet with joy the election returns which enhance the place of the Peronists, with their potentially dangerous variety of corporativism, nationalism and falangism. But in opposing such tendencies, we must first demonstrate our own good faith. And we can do this best at the moment by a show of respect for the will of the Argentine people, and an insistence that Frondizi abide by that will, or jeopardize all future dealings with the United States. By this act of "keeping the faith," the United States will demonstrate to the Argentine people that their revolutionary strivings are our revolutionary strivings. Any assumption that the defeat of Frondizi's party at the polls was a calamity for the United States would prove only how easy it is to lose "Good Neighbors."

The immediate policy steps for Washington are therefore clear: first, to insist that Frondizi shake the military monkey off of his back

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and restore constitutional guarantees; second, to continue every effort to stabilize the Argentine economy by equitable trade agreements and a stepped-up program under the Alliance for Progress aegis. To repeat the Cuba fiasco, to pull out of our economic commitments and our moral commitments by raising the war cry of communism or fascism or any other "ism," would only assure the coming about of the very totalitarian state we should wish to avoid. The social revolution in Argentina is well under way. Failure to support its most noble purposes, abstract condemnation of its "methods" or agencies, will shake hemispheric solidarity to the roots. And we will once more find ourselves a prisoner to the Latin American garrison states we now promote.

We must either join the revolutions now taking place in South and Central America (of which the Argentine situation is now the most decisive case) and share in their general benefits—or oppose them, and await the owl of Minerva to pass final judgment.

U.N. in Congress: The Nagging Questions . . *by Jane Stolle*

United Nations

THOUGH A reading of the *Congressional Record* might lead one to think otherwise, money is not the crux of the current debate on Capitol Hill over American participation in the proposed U.N. bond issue. Indeed, the money involved—$100 million, or half the total of the issue—comes to about .003 of our defense budget.

Underlying the debate are questions about the U.N., and the evolution of its functions and procedures, which have arisen in many parts of the country. Not all of the questions are serious, and not all are honest; there will be no attempt in this article to deal with the prejudices of the American *ultras* who want the United States out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the United States. But there are also honest doubts, held by people who have always believed in the U.N. and who want to continue to believe in it, that stem largely from the confusion inevitable to the evolution of an organization "working," as the late Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold put it, "on the brink of the unknown."

The existence of these doubts does not mean that the U.N. is undergoing a crisis of confidence on any national scale. A recent Gallup poll showed that 90 per cent of Americans favor continued U.S. membership in the world body, 78 per cent agree that the organization is doing a fair or good job, and 83 per cent believe that the United States should try to make the U.N. a success. But even among these U.N. supporters certain doubts persist, and they are reflected today in some of the Congressional opposition to a bond issue designed to relieve the world body from its financial straits. And because they are *honest* questions, they deserve honest answers—or, at least, an honest attempt to answer them.

Here are a few of the questions, and the answers.

HOW EFFECTIVE is the U.N. in "keeping the peace"?

Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., listed the world body's peace-keeping achievements in an article in *The New York Times Magazine* of Jan. 14:

> Soviet troops withdraw from Iran; and French and British from Syria and Lebanon; the Palestine armistice agreements; U.N. support to repel aggression in Korea.
>
> Vexing colonial conflicts which disappeared from the U.N. agenda as new nations were born and became members: Indonesia, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Cyprus.
>
> Other nations, once outside the U.N. world, restored to full standing in the community: Austria, Italy, Japan.
>
> Territorial and minority disputes brought under some degree of restraint: Kashmir, Alto Adige and West New Guinea.
>
> And a measure of security, at great cost and effort to the U.N., for areas under outside attack: Greece, Suez, Lebanon and Laos.

It is, perhaps, not an impressive list when one considers that the U.N. has been powerless to deal with the East-West conflict, the greatest of all, and its raw nerve center, Berlin. Admittedly, major controversies among the great powers can seldom be resolved within the U.N., only mitigated by attempts to decrease peripheral tensions. However, like the near-misses that did not become airplane accidents, the potential list of political collisions throughout the world that were averted by behind-the-scenes U.N. negotiations are as numerous as they are unknown.

But what about India's invasion of Goa and the fighting in the Congo?

The United States, and certainly the Western world, condemned India's use of force in Goa; nevertheless, the U.N. was powerless to stop it. But there were lessons learned from this frustration. Throughout India's fifteen years of independence from Great Britain, Portugal had refused to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the Goa matter. Walter Lippmann has noted: "Dr. Salazar's colonial policy is the same kind of menace to the public peace as was Marie Antoinette's inability to understand why the hungry people of Paris did not eat cake." The U.N. now hopes to persuade Portugal to bring its colonial policy, particularly with respect to Angola, more in line with world realities, thereby forestalling another resort to force. At the same time, much thought and effort are being given to a strengthening of what might be called the "preventive-peace" functions of the U.N.: fact-finding and conciliation missions for the Secretary General, the Secur-

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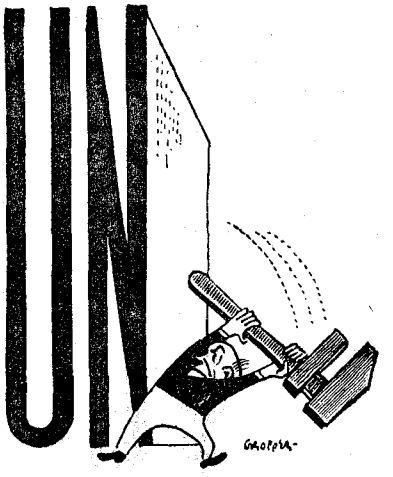
ity Council or the General Assembly, and more frequent recourse to the judicial processes of the World Court. In this connection, Ambassador Stevenson has advocated the repeal of the Connally Amendment, which reserves to the United States the determination of whether a dispute is within its domestic jurisdiction or not. The original passage of this amendment by Congress had prompted many other parliaments to follow suit, with the result that the International Court of Justice has had but little to do.

AS TO the fighting in the Congo, the fact is that Secretary General Hammarskjold's goal in embarking on the operation has been achieved: an East-West conflict was averted. Ideally, such a goal should have been reached without bloodshed; but the Congo is too rich in raw materials to foster the play of ideals. Again, as in Goa, the U.N. learned valuable lessons for the future. Already, in the resumed session of the Sixteenth General Assembly, a go-slow policy was adopted by the Trusteeship Council in considering plans for the independence of the Belgian-administered Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi in the heart of Africa. Significantly, it was the Africans themselves who wanted to make sure that there were no seeds for another Congo in Ruanda-Urundi.

Has the admission into the U.N. of twenty-nine new Afro-Asian nations played into the hands of the Soviet Union, to the detriment of the United States?

The answer is no. In the most important issue facing the Sixteenth General Assembly—the selection of a successor to Dag Hammarskjold—the Afro-Asians forced the Soviet Union to scuttle its "troika" proposal by joining the West in opposing it. Furthermore the Russians, not wishing to antagonize the Afro-Asians, accepted middle-of-the-road U Thant, a Burmese, as Acting Secretary General. Ambassador Stevenson told an audience at Colgate University a few weeks ago that charges to the effect that "the U.N. has fallen into an unhealthy and obsessive concern with colonialism, that its Afro-Asian majority can see no further in international life than the liquidation of the last remnants of the old European empires" is "born at best of serious misconceptions about the world which the powers and the United Nations have alike to live in. At worst, they are the product of malice and pique."

Mr. Stevenson might have added that the charges were simply not true. In the first place, there is no



unified Afro-Asian bloc; rather, there are more or less close groupings of former British colonies, former French colonies that have remained in the French Community, and others that have not. The Asian members, most of whom have had their independence for more than a decade, have generally exerted a moderating influence on the newer members and in the last General Assembly there was a noticeable modulation of the African voice. For instance, a resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa was defeated in favor of a milder one "condemning" South Africa's racial policies. This was done largely under Asian influence. On Angola, a moderately worded resolution sponsored by forty-four countries of Africa and Asia was adopted by 99 votes to 2, while a more drastic resolution offered by the Soviet bloc on the same subject was overwhelmingly defeated.

Admittedly, the Afro-Asians vote where their interests lie, and their interests lie in an end to colonialism, in a peaceful post-colonial period and in keeping out of the cold war. The United States is avowedly opposed to colonialism, has every interest in fostering orderly governments and is acquiring a growing understanding of the desire of young countries to remain unaligned. Therefore, the only real problem the new countries pose to us is the degree to which we can back our NATO allies—notably Belgium, France and Portugal; and, when Southern Rhodesia comes up soon, Great Britain —when they drag their feet on colonial questions. The East-West struggle is fast becoming complicated by the so-called North-South tug-of-war, and the U.S. role in the U.N. is likely to prove all-important in the outcome.

What of the future of the U.N.?

That is largely up to Congress to decide. If Congress authorizes the purchase of half the U.N. bond issue, as requested, and the remaining $100 million is forthcoming from other nations, the U.N. will be able to pay its back bills and make constructive plans for the future. These plans may well include a strengthening of its peace-keeping machinery, greater use of technical-assistance and training programs to make another Congo less likely, and any number of other modifications to improve an admittedly imperfect but nevertheless essential world community of nations.

But if Congress places restrictions on the U.S. share—at this writing, clearly a possibility—the U.N.'s future will be restricted, much to the delight of the Soviet Union, France, Portugal, Belgium, the Union of South Africa and (according to recent remarks of Lord Home, British Foreign Secretary) Great Britain. The Soviet Union will have freer rein in all the underdeveloped countries; Belgium can continue to divide and rule in Ruanda-Urundi; Portugal can go on de-colonizing in her own sweet—if bloody—time; the Union of South Africa can at last absorb Southwest Africa and practice *apartheid* without universal reproach, and Great Britain can go on pretending it has no control over Sir Roy Welensky's incitements to race war in Southern Rhodesia. That any one of these "advantages," accruing from a weakening of the U.N., could lead to a fast-spreading conflict — possibly even the holocaust which the whole world dreads—is something for Congress to think about.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Architects of the Welfare State

THE STORY OF FABIAN SOCIALISM. By Margaret Cole. Stanford University Press. 366 pp. $6.50.

Keith Hutchison

THE Fabian Society, which in another two years will celebrate its eightieth birthday, claims to be the oldest Socialist organization in the world. Despite its age, it is still going strong. Indeed, it looks much healthier than at its fiftieth anniversary when, as Margaret Cole remarks, it "had little to celebrate except longevity." That was the time when its founding fathers had gone whoring after strange gods, with Shaw hailing Mussolini as a superman and the Webbs "falling in love" with Soviet communism.

The story of the decline and revival of the Fabians has not previously been told. In fact, the only authoritative history of the Society is the book written by E. R. Pease, an early member and for many years General Secretary. It was first published in 1916, with a revised edition appearing in 1924. Thus almost half the Society's life remains unchronicled. Moreover, Pease's account needed to be reviewed against the perspective provided, not merely by the passage of time, but by the vast amount of new material in the form of memoirs, diaries, letters and so forth that has become available since he wrote.

No one is better qualified than Margaret Cole to be the new Fabian historian. She has been closely associated with the Society since 1916. With her husband, the late G. D. H. Cole, she was prominent among the group of young people who, during and immediately after World War I, were in rebellion against "the old gang"—Sidney and Beatrice Webb in particular. It was a fierce and prolonged, but not lasting quarrel. In later years the Webbs and the Coles renewed friendly relations and Margaret became the biographer of Mrs. Webb and the editor of her justly famous diaries. Both tasks gave her an insight into early Fabian history which is reflected in this new book.

When the Webbs died, the Coles to some extent took their places as Fabian leaders. G. D. H. Cole was Chairman of the Society during most of the years between 1939 and 1950, and at his death in 1959 had been President for seven years. Margaret was Honorary Secretary from 1939 to 1953 and Chairman in 1955-6. Such close identification between historian and subject is not without its pitfalls, but Mrs. Cole has avoided most of them. Fortunately she has a strong sense of humor and a weak sense of piety. She does not hesitate to underline the foibles of the great founders; in particular, their not infrequent intellectual snobbery and arrogance. Nor does she spare the youthful follies of the group of Guild Socialists, led by her husband, who sought to stand Fabianism on its head.

Mrs. Cole also makes the point that during a large part of its existence the Fabian Society has been remarkably parochial in its outlook. For years it ignored the problems of imperialism. This sin of omission has been atoned for by the work of the Fabian Colonial Bureau since its organization in 1940, but even to this day, as the author admits, the Fabian contribution to international policy remains almost negligible.

On the other hand, in the fields in which they have concentrated—education, public administration, health and social security—the influence of the Fabians has been incalculable. Indeed, they have been among the major architects of the Welfare State. The first Fabian "Tract," published in the spring of 1884, was entitled: *Why Are the Many Poor?* A rather crude exhortation, this four-page leaflet exuded old-fashioned radicalism and was by no means typically Fabian. But, having posed the question, the Society turned for an answer and a remedy to research. With facts and figures, it fostered the latest popular demand for a more equitable social system while pricking the conscience and undermining the confidence of the comfortable classes.

IN ITS early days, the Fabian Society held aloof from other British Socialist organizations and, although a participant in the formation of the Labour Party in 1901, showed little enthusiasm for independent political action. Until about 1914, it depended mainly on "permeation" to gets its ideas translated into legislation. "What Fabian permeation meant," writes Margaret Cole, "was primarily 'honeycombing,' converting either to Socialism or to parts of the immediate Fabian programme . . . key persons, or groups of persons, who were in a position either to take action themselves or to influence others. . . . One gets, sometimes, an impression of a Fabian vision of Britain in which every Important Person, Cabinet Minister, senior civil servant, leading industrialist, University Vice-Chancellor, Church dignatary, or what-not, would have an anonymous Fabian at his elbow or in his entourage who, trained very thoroughly (maybe in the Webbs' ideal School of Economics) in information, draughtsmanship, and the sense of what was immediately possible, would ensure that the Important Person moved cautiously but steadily in the right direction."

Permeation achieved some successes, but it was only after World War I that the old political parties really began to exert themselves in building up a Welfare State. And what moved them was not the subtle influence of infiltrating Fabians, but the raw competitive pressure of a rapidly expanding Labour Party. This rising power owed much to the Fabian Society. The complementary talents of two members—the scholarly bureaucrat, Sidney Webb, and the Trade

KEITH HUTCHISON, a former Nation *editor, is the author of* The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism.

The Singer

The song dripping from the eaves,
I know that throat

With no tongue,
Ignoring sun and moon,

That glance, that creature
Returning to its heart

By whose light the streams
Find each other.

Untameable,
Incorruptible,

In its own country
It has a gate to guard.

There arrived without choice
Take up water

And lay it on your eyes saying
Hail clarity

From now on nothing
Will appear the same

And pass through
Leaving your salt behind.

W. S. Merwin

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Union Leader and political expert, Arthur Henderson—were largely responsible for the reorganization of the Labour Party in 1917 and its adoption of a program with *national* appeal.

IN THE YEARS between the wars, Fabian ideas bore much fruit, but the Society itself was in the doldrums. This book tells the story of how it was revived—a revival in which the two Coles played a major role—in time to make a large contribution to the Labour Party's victory in 1945. That victory was also a Fabian triumph. Of the 394 Labour M.P.s elected, 229 were Fabians and, in the new government, the Society was represented by ten Cabinet Ministers, including the Premier, and thirty-five Under-Secretaries and other officers of state. In the five years thereafter, the Fabians reaped a bounteous harvest.

The glow of excitement of those years has faded during the past decade and, although the British social structure has been permanently changed for the better by the Labour Government's achievements between 1945 and 1950, the Fabian dream of a "Socialist Britain" remains elusive. One would like to know more about current trends of Fabian thought, but on this Mrs. Cole has little to say. *New Fabian Essays,* published in 1952, included some promising ideas, but the new book provides no information about the extent to which they have since been developed. Quite likely, there is work in progress that is in too fluid a state to warrant its mention. One must hope so, for if the Labour Party is to regain power it has urgent need of the kind of hard, constructive, pragmatic thinking which the Fabians have always considered their special field.

The Job of Leisure

WORK AND LEISURE. By Nels Anderson. The Free Press. 266 pp. $5.

Ronald Gross

PROTESTANT Western man, and particularly the American variety, characteristically thinks of work as his central activity. So it should be no surprise that contemporary Americans, suddenly discovering that they are creating abundant leisure as a by-product of their efficiency at work, leap to the conclusion that this new free time constitutes a major social problem.

Nels Anderson, Director of Research at the UNESCO Institute for Social Research in Cologne, has done a brilliant job of looking at leisure as it actually exists in today's urban cultures. *Work and Leisure,* which is mainly concerned with leisure, exposes the major fallacies in the fashionable view that we're all about to shrivel up for want of something to do.

Though a workless world is a lot further away than has been suggested by those social critics whom Daniel Bell dubbed "prophets of play," it *is* true that most of us now have more and more time off the job. But does this create great difficulties? Anderson concludes that frequently the answer is no. He points to undeniable improvements in popular culture, and shows that many people use their additional free time for constructive personal activities centering upon the family and home, thus considerably strengthening these two tottering institutions. Moreover, Anderson looks forward to new forms of leisure activity and cultural expression. In short, he sees men successfully finding ways to compensate in their leisure for the growing frustration associated with modern work, which so often provides no opportunity for initiative, responsibility or sense of achievement.

THAT is surely true in many cases, but it is only one side of the coin. For it is just as likely that meaningless and degrading work will drain a man of his energy and self-respect, leaving him a passive leisure-time victim of the worst the mass media have to offer. Bennett Berger's recent study of a *Working-Class Suburb* showed that factory workers fail to develop the active leisure patterns of white-collar suburbanites; the factory workers spend most of their time watching television. Whether a worker will react to a stupid job with creative and restorative leisure, or with passivity and hostility in free time, is difficult to predict. Because Anderson ignores the issue, he does not consider one sure way to upgrade the use of leisure. That way is to redesign jobs so that they develop qualities in the worker which will also enable him to do something satisfying in his free time. Incidentally, American and European attempts to do this are vividly described by the French sociologist Georges Friedmann in his recently published *Anatomy of Work.*

Anderson's chief point is that the two categories of work and leisure are insufficient to describe fully how men now spend their time. It seems that many people have recently been telling the sociologists that they spend less time at work and yet have *less* leisure. The better adjusted and more socially integrated the individual is, the more his satisfactions arise out of certain

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non-work obligations to family, community, voluntary organizations, etc. These obligations have some of the rigidities of work, but yield many of the satisfactions of leisure. In short, a kind of traditionally American diligence in personal development and community citizenship seems to be absorbing much of the increasing time away from work.

This conclusion of Anderson's book is even more provocative and exciting than he suggests. It indicates that we just might be evolving something like a genuine leisure culture, rather than merely a society which provides a lot of free time. We might recall that the classical Greeks, who invented it, wrote little about leisure *qua* leisure. The public "non-work" obligations of the Greek citizen were literally a full-time job. One cannot imagine an Athenian asking Socrates how he should solve his leisure problem; the question was simply how to live.

In their own ambiguous way, contemporary Americans seem to be moving toward a similar flanking of the "problem of leisure." The line between work and leisure grows fuzzy; David Riesman has pointed out that we work harder at our play as our work becomes more like play. Will this new "active leisure" evolve toward the Greek model of full-time citizenship, or degenerate into an endless round of suburban *Kaffeeklatsches*? The answer depends on the kinds of purposes and values which grip us, individually and collectively, in our work as well as in our leisure. But for better or worse, we have produced the beginning of a mode of living more complex and challenging than any simple transference of time from work to leisure.

'The Margin Beyond'

THE LOOKING GLASS BOOK OF VERSE. Edited by Janet Adam Smith. Looking Glass Library. (Distributed by Random House.) 416 pp. $1.95.

THE WIND AND THE RAIN. Edited by John Hollander and Harold Bloom. Doubleday & Co. 264 pp. $3.50.

Saul Maloff

W. H. AUDEN once said of a book of poems which he had been given as a child (as I remember, the poems were by Walter de la Mare) that a child who is given good poems may die on the gallows or otherwise break his mother's heart, but will never suffer from a tin ear. What strikes a teacher of literature with most depressing frequency is that his students — and I am speaking of university students — will never die on the gallows or otherwise break their mothers' hearts; but they will die, all of them, with tin ears.

They were not born to die that way, there having been a time when they did not hate poetry. It is not merely romantic to say that children love poetry "instinctively"; it is also true. But the processes of culture which deaden the ear are pervasive and interlocking; and the educational establishment, which always, in all societies, faithfully reflects and reinforces the culture, contrives to do its share. Who does not recall with pain the ugly textbook-anthology with its poems—good and bad, always fresh and absolutely exhausted — recklessly thrown together as if its maker did not know one from the other? The bored and listless teacher turned with a sigh to poems when the syllabus required it; and the child, getting the point of these gestures, finally acted them out himself. How, then, could the result be other than what it is?

COUNTERREVOLUTIONS, like revolutions, begin on the margin or underground. Perhaps it is a sign of promise that every now and then a really good collection of poems for young people is brought out.

By far the best two collections of this sort that I know of appeared recently: *The Looking Glass Book of Verse*, edited by Janet Adam Smith, and *The Wind and the Rain*, edited by John Hollander and Harold Bloom. Neither, I would guess, will find its way in the schools; both, we can hope, may find their way in the home. No child who is given these books is likely ever to suffer from a tin ear.

Both are handsome books — the *Looking Glass*, I think, the handsomer, and charmingly illustrated. Both contain excellent little introductions; and neither contains notes of any kind, not even dates: no biographical notes, no exegetical notes, no endearing anecdotes from the lives of the poets — nothing but poems, nothing but good poems. It is as if the editors had decided that all good poems exist simultaneously and are their own end, requiring neither explanation nor apology nor placebo; as if they were convinced that kids want poems and may even take pleasure, if the balance is right, in poems they do not "understand." For there are "hard" poems in both books, and among their themes are love and death and other mysteries. The editors must have held in mind a very odd conception of the reader. The young person they made their books for can feel and understand; has a lively ear for music; is willing to be driven beyond his present limits. He must think that he will, if the poem is a good one, hold the sounds in his head and return to it later, possibly many years later, and discover then what he perhaps in some sense knew upon first encounter. This is a child who refuses to be bored or patronized or otherwise conned or duped; and he will have no tolerance for bad poems merely because they yield up their trivial sense to his elders. The reader will not find sentimentality — the bane of children's books — or bombast or jingo or bathos or clangor in these books.

Hollander and Bloom have achieved, with great delicacy and tact, a miracle of freshness and originality. The principle of organization is a simple and sufficient one: the seasons, natural and human, culminating in "beyond winter," with its hope of recurrence and revival. All the poems — lyrics are heavily represented, as are the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — are chosen with flawless taste, and each is surprising, illuminating, in its aptness. The poems will resonate in the air long after they have sounded. Surprisingly, and rather disappointingly, the twentieth century is not represented at all, and the editors do not make it clear why they decided to exclude it. The volume is so remarkable, of such high excellence, it seems ungrateful to ask for more.

Janet Adam Smith revised the present book from her *Faber's Book of Children's Verse* to include a good many American poems. The range is far wider than that of *The Wind and the Rain* and it is a substantially larger book. Although it contains a good many anthology stand-bys, they are almost without exception also good poems. And the volume's special virtue lies in its boldness and venturesomeness. Again and again the editor includes poems which will make the reader reach, stretch, exceed himself. Miss Smith makes evident what is surely also one of the

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assumptions of *The Wind and the Rain* when she quotes Blake in her introduction: "That which can be made Explicit to the Idiot is not written with any care. The wisest of the Ancients consider'd what is not too Explicit as the fittest for Instruction, because it rouses the faculties to act." And Andrew Lang when he spoke of the "sense of the margin beyond. . . ."

William Blake also said: "Neither Youth nor Childhood is Folly or Incapacity. Some Children are Fools and so are some Old Men. But there is a vast Majority on the side of Imagination or Spiritual Sensation." These are splendid words for chipping in stone on all school and normal school buildings.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

New York—London

ON THE EVE of departing for London I saw Arthur Kopit's play, the full title of which is *Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Mama's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feeling So Sad* (Phoenix Theatre). Its author has described it "as a pseudo-classical farce written in a bastard French tradition," by which I suppose he referred to what is now called "the theatre of the absurd."

Despite this formidable nomenclature, the spectator has nothing to fear. This short play (about an hour and twenty minutes) is absurdly simple. It is a campy spoof that reflects resentment against a particular mother (played by Jo van Fleet) and by extension against women in general. It is a play in which the ladies are viewed as castrators.

Since there is something shocking in this, the blunt meaning is masked in extravagant paradox, magical (visual) stage tricks and festively macabre color. The mood is both sleazy and opulent, a sort of bejeweled nightmare. Wealthy young men writhing beneath the dominance of aggressively protective mothers are frequently given to such fantasies. They are a substitute for murder.

The result in Mr. Kopit's play is often funny in a grotesque way, the writing is fluent and not without promising talent, the direction by Jerome Robbins is deft, and Barbara Harris as an adorably depraved brat is altogether bewitching. The evening offers a touch of novelty and theatrical piquancy with the taste of an acidulous bonbon, an agreeably poisoned candy. If you have the stomach, try it.

In London, the American Elaine Dundy (Mrs. Kenneth Tynan), has written her first play, *My Place*. Though overwritten, it is well written; and though poorly constructed, it manages to convey a point.

It is about an actress from London's East End who has no proper home outside her dressing room. She is surrounded by the smart dispossessed of London's "revolting" generation—an *avant-garde* scene designer, an unsuccessful Labour candidate to Parliament, an honest roughneck actor of "impure" (Irish) origin, a benign homosexual, etc. The actress is independent, amoral, opportunistic and withal a sweet young thing who longs to rest her confused head on her mama's ample bosom. Sophistication has not robbed her of her simplicity and the yearning to be (traditionally) *good*. This humorously observant play is sympathetic because its intelligence is not employed to obfuscate its truth,

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but to reveal it. Its heart (or sentiment) is still in the right place.

The best of the comparatively new plays now running in London is Gwyn Thomas' *The Keep* at the Royal Court Theatre. It is about a Welch family, all the members of which—four brothers and a sister—dream of being saved from the drab monotony of the lower-middle-class home in which their father (bereft of his wife) struggles morosely to keep himself from sin.

The play's story is negligible; what is valuable is its rich comedy and its richer language. This flows and foams torrentially (and naturally), as does little outside a Sean O'Casey play. Constantly entertaining, *The Keep* conveys a thoroughly realistic impression of what life is like in a bleak provincial English town. It is acted by a perfect cast.

Significant, too, is a new musical that is unlike any I have ever seen. Brilliantly titled *Stop the World—I Want to Get Off*, it is a kind of clown show (it begins with a surrealist pantomime foreshadowing the pattern of the whole) with no plot except for the suggestion that it is about an English Everyman who progresses from penniless to prosperous mediocrity.

In the course of its abstract development (mimed, sung and danced against a totally unimpressive and unmelodious score) we learn once again that the English are fed up with the fraud of contemporary civilization, but are not likely to do much about it beyond cursing, grimacing and laughing at it—and at themselves for being able to take it with so little fuss.

Anthony Newley—a dancer, composer, writer, in a word a Player of parts—is the mainstay as well as largely the author of this oddly successful production.

Also typical of England's creeping discomfiture is *Everything in the Garden* by Giles Cooper, which I saw at the Arts Theatre (now under the auspices of Peter Hall and the Theatre Royal of Stratford-upon-Avon and London). It is a sour comedy about a suburban wife who alleviates the mean flatness of her home life by lending her services to a "high-toned" house of assignation. It turns out in the end that not only she but all her lady friends are involved in the same practice, and with the abject consent of husbands who are altogether fascinated by the inflow of *tax-free income* to the family exchequer! The play is wryly funny—in the manner of a perverse French farce, but wrought from the material of English domestic humor—but it ends badly in bankrupt Duerrenmatt indignation.

The Sense of It

After the long sail, after the weather,
after the hotcheek sun has kissed you,
after the sea haze has dazed
you, come barefoot home in the grass, then,
through the cool polished door,
after the long sail, after the weather.

And we'll roll out the marbles again
on the ebony floor,
you in your lounging leather,
I in my feather hair, and velvet and silk,
as smooth as soft as lady goat's milk,
after the long sail, after the weather.

Gerta Kennedy

CORRECTION:

A typographical error made gibberish of a sentence in Mr. Clurman's review of *A Gift of Time* in his March 10 column. It should have read: "To return to the positive: I repeat my admiration for Henry Fonda. He is an actor who never 'does' much; he is always the 'same.' Yet he is always effective and in many instances—as at present—impressive."

FILMS

Robert Hatch

ONE TROUBLE with madness as dramatic material is that it usurps the stage. It is impossible to attend to anything else while the lunatic is loose; at the same time, he is not a valid center for action, since reality has been taken out of his hands and communication is impossible.

Thus Ingmar Bergman's new film, somewhat arrogantly titled *Through a Glass Darkly*, is dramatically transfixed by the insanity of its heroine. The true subject of the film is the blighting selfishness that poses as artistic dedication, the pretense of the self-indulgent, small-souled "genius" that he must renounce the gratifications of human responsibility because his muse is jealous.

But it happens that one victim of the second-rate novelist in this instance is his daughter, whose mental illness is inherited from her mother and therefore not related to her father's inadequacies. He behaves badly, but she would be insane if he behaved with the compassionate understanding of a saint.

The attention of the film is focused, thus, on a hideous but irrelevant physical tragedy. The girl's insanity is of an extreme form (she suffers from aural hallucinations, which psychiatrists recognize as a symptom of the gravest mental disintegration) and expresses itself in a religious eroticism which, among others things, impels her to seduce her adolescent brother. A real question is whether this unhappy woman's father and husband are not criminally negligent in allowing someone so obviously and so dangerously deranged to go about unguarded. But that question is raised independently by the spectator; Bergman does not recognize it.

I would guess (I am not a doctor) that the mad scenes are accurately staged. They are certainly staged relentlessly, and the picture takes a sweaty grip on one's attention. But the audience is only horrified; it is not enlightened. This is a use of extreme means for trivial ends.

The father of the story is a monster of potentially great dramatic impact. He is a psychological demonstration of the thesis that any lie will be believed if only it is big enough: the people around him are incapable of believing that he is as utterly false as he in fact

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is. A scene in which he evades judgment for a peculiarly odious piece of insensitivity by recounting a patently false suicide attempt is a brilliant bit of character writing, though in film terms it is without much life. What does have overpowering vigor in the film is the agony of the mad girl, but her scenes have no dramatic import, and the result is a clinical soap opera.

Through a Glass Darkly is staged with Bergman's familiar cinematic ingenuity and performed by his now-familiar cast of dedicated and excellent actors. He is a director who knows exactly what he can do most effectively; he seems less scrupulous about assuring himself that it can be done honorably.

MUSIC

Benjamin Boretz

SELF-CONSCIOUS "profundity" and the search for a special "American" sensibility that engaged many of our composers before the war seems, in retrospect, to have led to a rather sad waste of some good creative impulses. One gets the impression that a great deal of this music was composed under the naive assumption that a distinctive manner of expression is the only necessary condition of musical significance and originality. Consequently, not much attention was paid to the necessities of finding solutions to the internal problems of continuity and style, and this, ironically, delayed for a long time the development of a school of American composition that could be taken seriously as such.

There is nothing particularly American, of course, about this mistake. European works like the symphonies of Sibelius and Vaughan Williams exhibit an obvious pose of profundity that has deluded a large fraction of the musical world into identifying them with serious music, and placing them in the company of the Beethoven and Brahms symphonies, rather than alongside *Scheherazade* or the *Carnival of the Animals*, with which they have far greater intellectual and spiritual kinship.

But the European tradition of musical craft prevents such speciousness from dominating the main current of artistic development there as much as it did in America. And a European composer competently educated in the tradition could acquire enough technical polish to disguise beneath an appearance of structural coherence the dependence of his music on purely external expressive ideas. Thus the "Jewish" music of Ernest Bloch, which became an important example for "American" music during Bloch's residence here, always maintains a connective tissue of sound, sustained or in motion, derived from Wagner and Debussy. This forms a continuous background against which the melodic and rhythmic events appear successively. (Bloch's pupil Roger Sessions successfully detached this idea from its picturesque context and made it the basis for the development of his own remarkable style.) Bloch also found a harmonic and melodic vocabulary of open-sounding intervals that were appropriate to the desired sensibility and could be used consistently to provide a sense of connection.

Some of the textures and harmonic sonorities that these ideas generate are arresting in themselves: there is often in Bloch a granitic harshness that reminds some people of Old Testament prophecy, although it is rather what one would have expected to result when the intervals — fifths and fourths — are piled up in extreme instrumental registers through an entire orchestral fabric. But in works like the *Three Jewish Poems* of 1915, these connective and sonorous ideas are simply used as characteristic sounds within conventional and loosely organized formal patterns — "meditative" ideas built rhapsodically to "ecstatic" climaxes — and the final effect is of a one-dimensional music that despite its surface activity is fundamentally static. As for the "Jewishness" of the *Three Poems*, they could as easily pass for any of the typical Impressionist *chinoiseries* — that of Puccini's *Turandot*, for instance.

IN Aaron Copland's Piano Variations, on the other hand, the austere sensibility comes directly from the interior, from the restrictive, unornamented treatment of limited materials (hence the frequent comparisons to skyscrapers?). Everything in the Variations is single-minded: through a kind of serial procedure, every event is directly related to the opening sequence of four notes, and nearly everything happens in the foreground; there are no subtle levels of juxtaposed motion, no layers of sonority, or primary and subsidiary relations of ideas. The range of piano sonority is also very narrow; almost every note is detached and propellant, and percussively attacked. The work generates its extreme tension through continuous expository writing without developmental inflection, increasingly stretching the listener's attention in the unresolved expectancy of a point of expansion or relief against which to perceive the structure.

In these terms, the Variations are deeply impressive and successful. But their transcription for orchestra, made in 1957, fails to reveal much of this special quality. In the orchestral context of multiple voices and tone-colors, the singleness of the piano version becomes trivial; this is actually empha-

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sized by some of the ingenious devices by which Copland draws varieties of sonority from his sparse ideas. The sense of limitation, of the strain of the performer's task, that are integral to the original are not restated in orchestral terms, but are lost in the literalness of the translation. It is especially surprising that Copland should have mistakenly equated the sound of orchestral percussion instruments with the clang of percussive piano sound. The greatest disappointment of this kind comes near the end, where a passage that Copland obviously now regards as purely rhythmic despite its specific pitches in the original is orchestrated for unpitched percussion alone. At this point, whatever attention was commanded by the earlier sections is simply lost in the flatness of the resultant sonority.

ROY HARRIS' music is probably the most striking example of the dichotomy between the "great American composer" pose and a nearly total deficiency of musical competence. The prestige enjoyed by his Third Symphony, however, is in a sense understandable, for the work does contain occasional glimmerings of ideas that are strongly suggestive of interesting formal possibilities. The best of these are the long melodic lines in even notes that expand texturally to climactic points without rhythmic change, at the opening of the symphony, and the section of long sustained chords punctured by sharp rhythmic profiles in contrasting timbres following the so-called fugue (an effect that is quite obscured in the Bernstein recording).

Despite their suggestiveness, however, Harris' ideas are unrealized in the music. On the large formal level, there is hardly a pretense of continuity, but even the individual notes chosen to state the ideas seem irrelevant. A much more professional use of these materials can be found in the music of William Schuman (the long-note melody, especially in the Third String Quartet, and the sustained vs. punctuated texture in *Judith*), where the arrangements of notes are often skillful and inventive, although also fundamentally superficial. The final absorption into a genuine compositional context, however, takes place in the recent music of Elliott Carter, notably in the slow movement of his First String Quartet.

Accompanying the Harris Third on the Columbia recording is Leonard Bernstein's *Jeremiah* Symphony, an adolescent crowd-pleaser that has a little bit of everybody's favorite music—from Mozart to Mahler to Copland to, indeed, Harris — and is inferior in every significant respect to "On the Town," composed at about the same time.

IN COMPLETE contrast to such self-congratulatory productions is the work of George Perle, whose String Quartet (1958) has been released by CRI. All of Perle's music seems to concentrate on the discovery of real bases for coherence within the context of contemporary musical style, particularly in terms of harmonic progression. The insistence that this coherence must come directly from a consistent harmonic language, rather than from extraneous attractiveness or simple momentum, results in a surface of stark simplicity, in which all melodic and rhythmic motion is an essential part of the underlying harmony. The absolute integrity of Perle's approach imposes such extreme difficulties that sometimes, understandably, not all the problems are completely solved. In the String Quintet, the continual articulating pauses between phrases eventually tend to break the form into isolated fragments, and without the guidance of connective material, the ear occasionally loses the thread.

But the very inwardness of this music is impressive; it is addressed not to an audience, but to a task whose importance for all music creates a sense of involvement, of reaching out toward primal relationships that unfailingly engages one's interest and sympathy. A fuller judgment of Perle's success must await performances of more recent works such as the Three Movements for Orchestra of 1960 and the Rhapsody for viola and small orchestra of 1962. From a reading of the scores, I have the impression that many of the earlier problems have been resolved in the course of his later development.

Records

Bernstein: *Jeremiah* Symphony. Jennie Tourel, mezzo-soprano, New York Philharmonic, Leonard Bernstein, cond. Columbia MS 6303.

Bloch: *Three Jewish Poems*. Hartford Symphony Orchestra, Fritz Mahler, cond. Vanguard VSD 2085.

Copland: Orchestral Variations. Hartford Symphony Orchestra, Fritz Mahler, cond. Vanguard VSD 2085. Piano Variations. William Masselos, piano. Columbia MS 6168.

Harris: Third Symphony. New York Philharmonic, Leonard Bernstein, cond. Columbia MS 6303.

Perle: String Quintet. Beaux-Arts String Quartet, Walter Trampler, viola. CRI 148.

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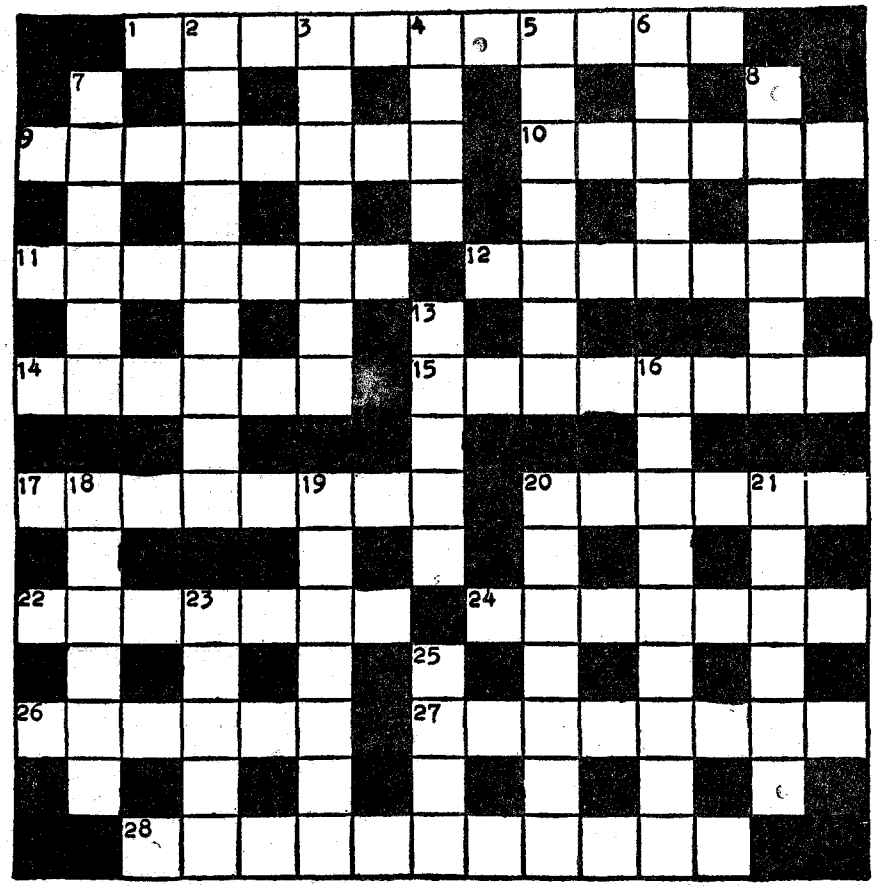
Crossword Puzzle No. 956

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Soak a pick-pocket like crazy! (11)
9 Pontiac's making the headlines again! (8)
10 The low mournful sound of such as Miss Proctor was seated at. (6)
11 A couple of D's and a few C's (with no flats or sharps in the key) as "Music for the Screen." (7)
12 Got confused with the wrong sort of artificial recesses. (7)
14 Coming back with unusual offspring produces a fine edge. (6)
15 Gather fruit and show up again. (8)
17 Must you halt an attendant for cessation of work? (8)
20 Should be held by "the tar that plows the water." (6)
22 A negative female is something else again! (7)
24 What might the beat walker settle with? It's ample! (7)
26 Should such things succeed in Israel? (6)
27 Suggests the student is just barely passing, and lowers things in our estimation. (8)
28 What the winners may get makes more than one, and one with knots. (11)

DOWN:

2 What the waiter might bring at first spells trouble! (2, 3, 4)
3 A wayward lost son shoots from the stock. (7)
4 Flat seam, possibly. (4)
5 Where the country confuses goals for obtaining capital? (7)
6 Concerning a trial of strength? (5)
7 A staple sort is certainly not the darkest. (6)
8 A singular sort of 10 for a cat! (6)
13 Wee Willie Winkie, or one of Georgie Porgie's girls? (5)
16 Beat friend, with mine wasted away. (9)
18 A delicate way to make an offering? (6)
19 Like small spaces, a real or only possible arrangement. (7)
20 Carroll's was uffish. (7)
21 Comes out with sex, in a way, when it's about due to be changed. (6)
23 If you're a musician, shake! (5)
25 Certainly not the image of a hard worker, by the sound of it. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 955

ACROSS: 1 Finis; 4 Saint Paul; 9 Ipse dixit; 10 Epona; 11 Healthful; 12 Tie-in; 13 Indigenous; 17 Pancreatic; 21 Rooms; 23 Rhett; 24 Alignment; 25 Butterfly; 26 Guyed. DOWN: 1 Fright; 2 Nassau; 3 Sedate; 4, 7 and 6 Six of one and half a dozen of the other; 5 Intelligibility; 8 Leanness; 14 Spare rib; 15 Indolent; 16 Grisette; 18 Eggnog; 19 Nicely; 20 Edited.

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